RRR
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The Conscience of the Right

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

For much of this year, the real right has been beset, even beyond the usual process of the country going down the drain. The high hopes that the Buchanan campaign would advance military isolationism and domestic constitutionalism were dashed. On Capitol Hill, the "Republican Revolution" went beyond betrayal of the voters to the active promotion of evil.

Republicans passed: the Napoleonic line-item veto, giving the executive branch—locus of every infamous outfit from the tax police to the EPA—the power of the purse; a farm bill that entrenches socialism and lies about it; and a Hillary-lite health-care plan that outlaws discrimination against "preexisting conditions" and otherwise increases piecemeal socialization.

Other triumphs of the Republican Congress: authorizing private lawyers to collect taxes for the government, i.e. tax farming, and finagling with the CPI to limit tax-bracket indexation, i.e. surreptitiously raising taxes.

The Congress did not cut one cent in taxes or spending. It did not excise one word of regulation. Indeed, we got more of all three. No progress was made on taming the environmentalists or civil rights socialists, or on protecting private property from seizure and devaluation. And when the freshmen sought to repeal the vicious Brady bill, Gingrich made a deal with Dole to deep-six it in the Senate. Bob and Newt also worked to pass a Clintonian "anti-terrorism" bill, despite initial House opposition, that violates our liberties.

The Republicans did promise us "No More Wacos," but that turned out only to mean no more hasty murders of civilians by federal agents. As the Freeman incident in Montana shows, the feds are still empowered to override state and local law enforcement when marginal right-wing groups are involved, and when federal intervention makes a broader political point. The not-so-subtle message here: you can't hate the federal government and get away with it.

Was it a time to get away from it all, perhaps in a compound in Montana? No, for a primary run-off in the 14th Congressional district of Texas restored the verve and passion of every true lover of liberty.

Ron Paul Returns!

On April 9, Ron Paul, that libertarian stalwart and courageous defender of the Old Republic, crushed party-hack Greg Laughlin for the Republican nomination. It's a sign that the anti-government revolt that swept the Democrats out of power in Congress is still on. But in the newest twist, the revolt is forcing the Republican establishment to do penance for its own compromises with government power.

Incumbent Laughlin had the money, the media access, and the endorsements of the entire Republican elite: Gingrich, Armey, DeLay, the two Bushes, Phil Gramm, Kay

Continued on page 3

P.C. Watch

St. Inclusive

The San Francisco Episcopal parish of St. Gregory Nyssen has—thanks to architect John Goldman —reformed itself, says the *New York Times* (4/66/96). In the typical parish, "the baptismal font is close to the front door, and the altar is in the distance, suggesting to the worshipper, First join the club, then join us at the table."

At St. Gregory's, the font has been moved to the back yard, and when you enter the church, "you arrive immediately at the altar, in the center of a sprung wooden dance floor in an otherwise empty room."

The church, with a liturgy based on "ancient Jewish worship and early Christian practices," is designed to reflect its "universalist" theology. The "standing room is octagonal and is furnished only with a tablelike al-

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

What Went Wrong? **6**
by Paul Gottfried

The Cuban Fifth-Column **8**
by Greg Pavlik

America's Most Persecuted Minority **10**
by Murray N. Rothbard

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tar, modeled after banquet tables from early Palestine."

The "sitting room" features "an early 19th-century Russian menorah; a grove of ornate Ethiopian Orthodox crosses; cast-bronze Zen Buddhist meditation gongs and singing bowls from Tibet, both of which are used in meditation, and a carved wooden howdah from Thailand, a wide, thronelike chair designed for an elephant's back." Rows of other chairs "in six different fabrics flank the aisle."

The pastor encourages "mediative silence during the first part of the service, punctuated by the drone of the gongs and bowls, exuberant singing, accompanied by African drums, the occasional tambourine (there is no pipe organ at St. Gregory's), and stately but ecstatic dancing."

After the "contemplative part of the service, the entire congregation does a serene line dance to the altar in the standing room." The "the worship includes arm-in-arm, shoulder-to-shoulder circle dancing."

"Mr. Goldman, the architect, had never designed a sacred space before. 'About the closest I could come was a Chinese restaurant,' he said." The architect "has since become a specialist and has designed five other churches."

And Bernie Goetz Shot Four Geniuses

Black novelist Beebe Moore Campbell is a frequent commentator on NPR's "Morning Edition." On April 11, in one of her typically angry (and hilarious) commentaries, she denounced the media for calling the Unabomber a "genius." This is only because the former Berkeley math professor is "white and male." Thanks to media racism, black criminals are never described as geniuses, she said. Yet "geniuses come in all colors and both genders, and sometimes push themselves along on wheels." But if they're not white and male, [yelling] *"they are not recognized as geniuses."*

Black criminals *"are not recognized as geniuses."*

Colley Cibbers of Color?

The Alabama Shakespeare Festival, being in Alabama, must be politically correct. So, in addition to plays by Mr. W.S., it stages black dramas, usually of an anti-white cast. But that's not all. It also makes a point of placing black actors in white roles.

In its spring 1996 production of "The Winter's Tale," for example, Polixenes, King of Bohemia, is played by a black man, as is his son, Florizel. Are we supposed to notice that they're black, or not? One is never sure. (Although we can be sure we're not supposed to notice that they can't act.)

In the play, Polixenes is suspected by Leontes, King of Sicilia, of fathering his Queen Hermione's daughter, Perdita. We are not supposed to notice that if Polixenes were black, the color of the child would prove or disprove the adultery. On the other hand, we are supposed to notice that Florizel is black, since the director adds so many uncanonical physical love scenes with Perdita. Black-white romance is the ultimate p.c., of course.

Would the ASF cast a white man as, say, the father of Martin Luther King in its production of "Ain't Got Long To Stay Here"? To ask the question is to answer it.

Anti-Christianism in LA

The *Los Angeles Times* refused to run the popular comic strip, "B.C.," on Palm Sunday because it carried a Christian message. The paper also pulled the Easter Sunday strip for similar reasons. Would the *Times* censor a comic strip with an anti-Christian theme? Surely you jest.

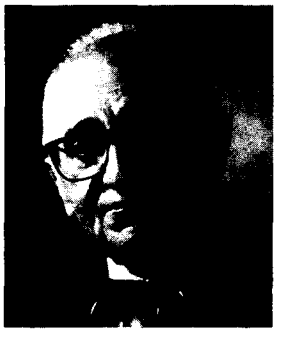
No Freedom of Association for the Dead, Either

When the deacon of a white Baptist church in Thomasville, Georgia, didn't want to bury in the church cemetery a child born without a brain and out of wedlock to a white girl and a black man living on welfare in a trailer, it was bound to be international news, even though black church cemeteries are segregated as well.

But when a 14-year-old black boy enters a store and shoots three elderly white ladies in the head, out of evident racial hatred, it's hardly news in Opelika, Alabama, where it happened, let alone in the *New York Times*. Such events are suppressed, while cemetery happenings become college courses.

California BUGs

"It takes courage to flaunt your heterosexuality" at the University of California, Santa Cruz, says Ambrose Evans-Pritchard of the



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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London *Sunday Telegraph* (3/27/96).

"There are those slightly disapproving looks, the tart remarks, the hint that you are faintly deviant. 'I went into the store to buy some herbs, and the woman flat out refused to serve me,' said Mark, who is openly 'straight' and looks it. A lot of straights, or 'hets' as they are called pejoratively, learn to conform."

"'Let's face it, you're either a BUG, a LUG, or a GUG if you want to get along,' said Scott, a social science undergraduate. A BUG is 'bisexual until graduation,' the preferred option for mainstream students who cannot bring themselves to cut their ties with the opposite sex. For those who want the 'sojourn on the other side,' the way to go is 'gay until graduation' (GUG) or 'lesbian until graduation' (LUG)."

"'You're not a real person unless you're gay or bisexual,' a professor complained. 'The question is whether it is just a fad, or whether it is here to stay. I think it's seriously changing the way young people relate to each other in California.'" ■

Continued from page 1

Bailey Hutchinson, the National Republican Congressional Committee, and the rest of the central party apparatus. Undaunted, Ron campaigned hard on the issues, stressing his independence and his proven record of commitment to principle.

Ron's platform has a central theme: that the unconstitutional activities of the federal government must be overthrown. These include: high taxes, big spending, regulations on business, Nafta, Gatt, foreign aid, foreign wars, subsidized foreigners over here, the Federal Reserve, the welfare state, affirmative action, government centralization, the IMF, the UN, the World Bank, intervention in the family and community, abortion, anti-religious policies, and more.

Ron Paul unites libertarianism, isolationism, and cultural conservatism, with a strong emphasis on anti-tax consciousness. Both the platform and the approach are Rothbardian, the right-wing populism Murray hammered out in these pages and recommended as the proper strategy for beating back the present tyrann.

The Paul victory has sent shock waves through the Republican elites, who had made the election a loyalty test. Do you support our man Greg Laughlin, who, as Gingrich kept emphasizing, is a "team player"? Or do you back a dangerous guy we can't control? The House leadership prevailed upon 53 Congressmen to ante up checks to the Laughlin campaign. The National Republican Congressional Committee poured in money and operatives.

For its role, especially the dirty tricks it fomented, the NRCC should never get another dime from any Paulist, and there are other lessons as well. The leadership of the Christian Coalition strongly backed Laughlin, even though his abortion record was mixed at best, while Ron Paul —an obstetrician who has brought 4,000 babies into the world and written an anti-abortion book—had a perfect pro-life record during his years in Congress.

Ron Paul unites libertarianism, isolationism, and cultural conservatism, with a strong emphasis on anti-tax consciousness.

Here's proof that these men put power and connections ahead of their advertised priority of opposing abortion, and that real religious conservatives know better. For pro-lifers backed Ron in defiance of Ralph Reed and Pat Robertson.

The same ends up being true on the gun issue. Ron Paul was the first Congressman to call for the abolition of the BATF in the 1970s, he had a perfect pro-gun voting record in Congress, and he argued time and time again on the House floor against any federal interference in the people's right to bear arms. That's why Larry Pratt, head of Gun Owners of America, served on the advisory board of Ron Paul's campaign.

Greg Laughlin, on the other hand, had a mixed record here as well, attempting to cover his bases with both sides. So whom did the National Rifle Association back? You guessed it. Like the Christian Coalition, the NRA demonstrated that its loyalty is not to its dues-paying, gun-owning members, but to the Republican establishment. As for the actual gun-owning voters in Texas, they backed Ron Paul.

Then there's term limits. Ron was the first Congressman in modern history to introduce term-limits legislation, and he improved the concept dramatically by including not only politicians, but also federal judges and bureaucrats. He spoke out on the issue, and after four terms in Congress, he even imposed them on himself, resigning in 1984. Laughlin had a clear record: he voted against term limits on several occasions. So whom did U.S. Term Limits back? That's right: Newt's buddy, Greg.

The establishment gang-up on Ron reached preposterous proportions, with visits by Texas Governor George Bush, Jr., and his father, the Trilateralist who raised our taxes and fought a war for big oil. The party elites even trotted out Reaganite has-been Ed Meese and had him slog around this rural district telling people how to vote. But these political bigshots do not impress. In fact, they played right into the Ron Paul message of independence and a willingness to speak

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truth to power. The choicest moment came when Laughlin had to pull his Phil Gramm endorsement ads. They were making Laughlin and Gramm *less* popular.

The Insiders' Dirty Tricks

Those were the above-board tactics that the national party and its affiliated lobbyists used, but they don't begin to tell the whole story. The party also ran a private smear campaign to tell voters that Ron Paul, as a former Libertarian Party nominee, favored crack cocaine for school children, prostitutes on main street, and raw pornography in the grocery store.

Actually, Ron takes a states-rights position on these issues, seeing them as constitutionally none of the central gov-ernment's business. They are for Texas and its localities to handle.

Politicians who have sold their souls fear and hate someone who can't be bought.

The idea that a respected Christian physician—father of five and grandfather of eleven, married to the same woman for 39 years—wanted heroin in the elementary schools (one of the charges) was so implausible that it didn't stick with a majority of voters. But by spending so much money to spread such libels in its secret "push polls," the national party may have violated federal elections laws, which limit the dollars it can spend in a contested primary.

Why was this race so important to party higher-ups, that they might have violated federal law to try to get their man in?

Last year, Laughlin had switched from the Democrat Party. In exchange for his promise to be Gingrich's "team player," Newt gave him a spot on the Ways and Means Committee, the best seat in the House for buying and selling special favors. Republican campaign functionaries may also have promised to help with Laughlin's legal troubles, which are said to parallel Dan Rostenkowski's.

In the official version of events, the party supported Laughlin so strongly because it wanted to show that converts can win. In this view, Ron was an interloper trying to hinder the march of the Republican Party.

But there's flaw in this story. Before Ron announced his intention to run against then-Democrat Laughlin, out of courtesy he traveled to Washington to meet with the Texas delegation. They were all there: Gramm, Armey, DeLay, etc. They professed to be delighted, although Ron was suspicious. And, indeed, the minute he was out of the room, they began plotting his defeat in conjunction with Gingrich. That's why Laughlin was induced to switch. As an incumbent Republican, the leadership thought, they could back him and he could beat Ron.

Gingrich, Armey, and DeLay, who demand party loyalty above all else, knew that they had to keep Ron at bay. As the most principled statesman Washington has seen in the last half century, they know that he has far more credibility as a government cutter than they do. And with his national following and steadfast determination to restore constitutional government, Ron—and not the pretenders in the leadership—is the real conscience of the right. And men who have sold their souls fear and hate someone who can't be bought.

But the leadership couldn't erase Laughlin's voting record, which was Clintonesque to the core. There was no way to hide the fact that he was a Johnny-bought-lately, happy to shift his political loyalties in exchange for power. Throw in *Roll Call*'s scoops that Laughlin is Washington's number one junket taker and under grand-jury investigation for possible bribe-taking, and Ron's opponent came to personify the double-dealing that voters have turned against.

A Real National Hero

Unlike the present Congressional leadership, Ron's House voting record is a portrait of courage and unshakable devotion to American liberty. He pushed for abolishing the Fed and establishing a gold standard, for every manner of tax and regulatory cut, and against spending, foreign meddling, pork-barrel projects (even in his own district), tax-collection abuse, and federal police power. In the ratings of the National Taxpayer's Union, Ron holds the all-time highest score.

When he was in office under Reagan, Ron bucked the Republican party leadership to vote against debt-ceiling increases and unbalanced budgets. He tossed special interest groups out of his Congressional office. And twice he turned down personal appeals from Reagan, who lobbied him for IMF subsidies and military pork. Ron even challenged George Bush in the 1988 presidential race by running as the Libertarian Party nominee.

Ron was the first public official to call for the abolition of plush Congressional pensions, and he refused to participate in that outrageous giveaway. When he pioneered in calling for a flat tax, it was ten percent—that is, a massive tax cut.

Just as inspiring is his vision. Ron Paul spares us policy analysis on making the welfare state work, and instead calls on America to embrace fully its heritage of liberty. He is an eloquent spokesman for community freedom and individual rights against federal intrusion, for sound money against inflation and dollar manipulation, for private property against redistribution, and for self government against centralized power.

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His foreign policy views are those of George Washington: trade with everyone, belligerence toward none, with no special attachment or antipathy to any foreign country, and no entangling alliances. Ron also opposes managed-trade treaties like Nafta and Gatt, and bailouts to Mexico and everywhere else. When Ron used these issues in his campaign, they caught fire.

Ron's political philosophy is informed by the best of American intellectual history: the framers of the Articles and the Constitution, the Jeffersonian Southern Republicans, the Jacksonian hard-money men, the early 19th-century New England secessionists, the later Southern secessionists, the anti-World War I journalists, the opponents of the New Deal and Roosevelt's drive for war, the libertarian anti-tax and anti-inflation revolution of the 1970s, and the resurgent Old Right of the 1990s.

He combines this idealistic and learned political philosophy with an impressive technical knowledge of economics. He is an exponent of the Austrian School of Ludwig von Mises and Murray N. Rothbard, which combines a rich theory of social cooperation with a hard-nosed advocacy of private property, sound money, and free markets. He knows more about such subjects as business cycles, financial regulation, and central banking than most working economists, and any sitting member of Congress.

The much-touted split between economic and social conservatives in the presidential primaries was healed in Ron's election. He knows that the family's biggest enemy is our failing economy, which depresses the middle-class birthrate, and forces wives into the workforce and children into daycare, because of excessive taxes, spending, and regulation.

The government is also to blame for our failing educational system. But Ron doesn't propose another federal subsidy like vouchers, as D.C. think tanks suggest. He wants to abolish the Department of Education and repeal all federal aid to education and tampering with local schools.

Instead of being the "extreme" and divisive figure that Bush the First claimed, Ron forged a broad coalition that included the religious right, gun owners, ranchers and other landowners, homeschoolers, libertarians, businessmen, anti-war isolationists, paleo intellectuals, working-class men and women, and bourgeois families. They are all Paulists because they all want to be left alone by the federal government, so the liberty and virtue of an older America can be restored. And they certainly don't trust the Republican leadership or their neocon controls to do the job.

Ron's foreign policy views are those of George Washington: trade with everyone, belligerence toward none.

Ron faces another hurdle in the general election. But if he makes it — and I believe he will—he will assume once again the mantle of big government's biggest enemy in Washington. This will mean more now than it did in the 1970s and 80s, for he is exactly the leader that the freshmen, and those who will join them in 1996, have been waiting for.

There is an even more exciting prospect: Ron would become the national voice of the authentic right, drawing good people from Republican ranks all over the country into his camp. And his firm and principled opposition to Leviathan in all its forms would help purge the movement of the corruption of neoconservatism.

Will we be eventually disappointed, as we have been by so many other political figures? No, for Ron has demonstrated that he can live and vote principle consistently, day by day, resisting every manner of pressure, and upholding the old standards of statesmanship.

According to public-choice economics—which says that politicians pursue their self interest at the expense of their platform—a man like Ron Paul is not supposed to exist. Worse, from the public-choice viewpoint, he voted against pork in his own district, seeing such spending as unconstitutional and immoral.

How, Ron would ask, can I advocate cutting government spending in California, if I'm for increasing it in Texas? That way, he could also never be bullied into supporting bad legislation by the threat that his pork would be taken away. Public-choice analysis says Ron should have been tossed out. Yet the voters elected him again and again.

How much can a single House member do? We need to look to that great Jeffersonian, John Randolph of Roanoke, whom Ron resembles in political principles and moral stamina. Randolph dominated the House by his ideas and his eloquence, anti-war and pro-free trade, anti-tax and constitutionalist, and by upholding a pure standard of statesmanship for all to see.

If he wins in November, the new Randolph will be among us, and from the House he will uphold that pure standard to which all good conservatives and libertarian can repair. He will not hesitate to oppose the White House, no matter who occupies it, and when the Republican leadership engages in criminal ac-

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tivities like the Mexican bailout, Ron Paul will be the first to expose them.

No wonder the establishment is terrified, and no wonder his victory in Texas has excited the passions of every American who cares about the future of the country. ◙

What Went Wrong?

by Paul Gottfried

Pat Buchanan has ceased to be a "viable" presidential candidate, and it may be possible to speculate about the reasons for the collapse of his populist bid for the presidency. For the Buchanan faithful the end came cataclysmically in March, after winter successes in Louisiana, Iowa, Alaska, New Hampshire, and the Missouri caucuses. By mid-February, it seemed that the expected forerunner Bob Dole was on the skids, and TV announcers were stressing that the Republican nomination was wide open. Buchanan was listed as a serious contender along with Dole; while Lamar Alexander and Steve Forbes (after unexpectedly strong showings in Delaware and Arizona) were also given a shot at the brass ring.

After a poor showing in Arizona (where he finished third) and an even more dismal performances in the front-loaded large-state primaries on alternate Tuesdays in March, Buchanan was technically all but out—Dole by then having captured almost one thousand primary delegates. By the third week of March Buchanan, then the only contender against Dole left in the Republican primary race, no longer spoke of winning; nor did he proudly introduce his wife Shelley as the "next first lady." Instead he was telling CNN and Brian Lamb of CSPAN that he was "going to the convention no matter what." Buchanan also let it be known that he would fight for a "conservatism of the heart" and that he would continue to champion American workers and unborn babies.

In assessing this debacle, it is important to note the candidate's conspicuous strengths. Unlike the other candidates, Buchanan has been defiant in expressing politically incorrect views. On immigration, foreign aid, the right to bear arms, and the media's tendency to glorify homosexuals and feminists, he has loudly and repeatedly proclaimed unorthodox views in the presence of cheering crowds. He has also aroused enthusiastic support, what the media calls "fanaticism" in those whose views it despises or fears. Buchanan's backers contrast dramatically to those of Dole, who seems, for the most part, the constituency of big business and party patronage. Though in the South the party regulars have been able to keep most of the Christian Right in line, the Dole campaign continues to look as if it stands for nothing. And this impression is confirmed by the party leaders who have dutifully endorsed Dole as "the man who can beat Bill Clinton" or "save the party from extremism."

Unlike the other candidates, Buchanan has been defiant in expressing politically incorrect views.

Unlike Buchanan, moreover, Dole does have a congressional record, and that record indicates the lack of any consistent principles, except for remaining a political player. It is hard to believe that Dole opposes affirmative action as a matter of conviction: he voted for it in 1991 and is now trying to obtain as a running mate Colin Powell, an unmistakable advocate of both affirmative action and the present abortion laws, which Dole pretends to oppose.

Despite his strengths, Buchanan has showed weaknesses as a campaigner, and though not the only reasons for his electoral failures, these defects should be duly noted. One, he oversimplified complex and controversial social issues by reducing them to slogans in stump speeches. Thus he spoke out against immigration without availing himself of the statistical information that might have made his correct stand even more convincing. Again, he took the right stands on judicial activism and gay rights without providing cogent data or well-reasoned arguments even in his TV appearances.

Two, Buchanan should have engaged Jewish liberal and neocon adversaries more sharply on the outrageous charge of anti-Semitism. Rather than hoping it would go away, he should have made an issue of the charge itself, getting his Jewish supporters to speak out on his behalf and demonstrating the real motives behind the repeated accusation: scaring off oppositions to Zionist "extremists" and tarring opponents of the gay agenda with the anti-Semitic brush.

Throughout the campaign Buchanan seemed to be pursuing a hand-to-mouth strategy, using his candidacy to speak from the heart and to mobilize the faithful without anticipating probable obstacles. Having been savaged by the liberal and Zionist press in 1992, he should have prepared himself to counter predictable attacks. Buchanan's only response was to soldier on, in the vain hope that the attacks would stop. In the end, they wrecked his candidacy, by making even some uninformed conservatives think that Buchanan was Adolf Hitler reincarnated.

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After all, this was the comparison that official conservatives Bill Safire, George Will, and Charles Krauthammer belabored daily. Buchanan should have stressed that those who had warned against trivializing Hitler and the Holocaust were now invoking both regularly to scare off critics of AIPAC. Anti-Hitlerians, he should also have said, were calling people Nazis for holding the same views on immigration expressed by America's founders and by most of our past presidents.

Buchanan, furthermore, showed inconsistency in attacking big government while calling for policies that would have aggravated the problem. Though he complained bitterly of administrative and judicial overreach, his stands on abortion, social welfare, and managed trade were not likely to reduce that overreach. More likely, as Lew Rockwell observes, they would have strengthened the hands of federal judges and federal administrators, if Buchanan were free to enact his Christian Right-populist agenda.

An attempt must be made to push back to the hand of the managerial therapeutic state, because it brings increasing power to an increasingly unaccountable political class. Though Buchanan may understand this, he is also entrapped by his own blue-collar and Christian Right constituency. To keep this following, he praises imprudent things, like working for a (fortunately unpassable) constitutional amendment banning abortions and providing Medicare benefits that can only come from increased federal taxation.

Having pointed out the problems in how Buchanan and presumably his sister Bay ran his campaign, it also seems to me obvious that Buchanan would have lost even if he had acted in a more informed fashion. His social positions, even when he began to moderate them, were clearly out of line with the policies of the managerial therapeutic state and its apologists.

The most revealing attack made against Buchanan, by *Newsweek* and by George Will, was that he wanted "to go back to the 1950s." The fellow genuinely believes in gender roles, heterosexual marriage as a social norm, and pre-1985 levels of immigration based on clear national interest. Such views have now become not only socially unacceptable but also proof of an unredeemed fascist nature. They fly in the face of government action and journalistic sermons, and all respectable conservatives, unlike extremists, have gone with the managed flow.

As for Dole, his was at best a pyrrhic victory. The price he will have to pay for the continued good will of the media is continued evidence of his nonextremism. Henceforth he will have to be on guard lest he fall into Buchananite rhetoric, in pursuit of Buchanan voters. Bill Safire, moreover, has warned Dole not to invite the anti-Semite Buchanan as a speaker to the San Diego convention. Other journalists have gone even further, demanding that Dole and other "moderate Republicans" expel Buchanan from the party.

Al Hunt and David Broder have also proposed that Dole name Powell as a running mate in order to underscore his moderation. With some luck these journalists may be able to arrange a presidential contest that excludes the Right entirely. In that situation Clinton and Dole will fight for the loyalty of people Broder and company approve of, without looking for support to "extremists."

The most revealing attack made against Buchanan, by *Newsweek* and by George Will, was that he wanted "to go back to the 1950s."

The rub is that Dole may need precisely those extremists to create an electorate different from that of Clinton. But as soon as he tries to reach for it, the press will in all likelihood Buchananize him: emphasizing the similarities between Dole's insensitivities and those of the American Adolf Hitler and reminding Dole of his sudden affinity for a figure whom until recently he too had denounced as an extremist.

Dole will be hoisted on his own petard, and this may happen even if he gives the talking heads what they want. Then he would go down to defeat as a big-government, socially "moderate" Republican appealing to an essentially Clintonian electorate. This strategy would play into the hands of third-party "extremists," who would rally social conservatives and Middle American radicals. This populist insurgency might not lead immediately to a victorious presidential party, but it would weaken the already threatened legitimacy of the two major parties. And it would provide a continuing focus for an anti-establishment politics of the Right, though one that would have to define itself coherently in order to become a credible ruling coalition.

The Buchanan debacle also confirmed the obvious in terms of the neoconservatives as the kept opposition of the Left. Throughout Buchanan's campaign neoconservative journalists and politicians led the pack in going after Pat. The remark by Safire on "Meet the Press," that Buc-hanan rated a 5 to Hitler's 10 as an anti-Semite, was utterly demagogic. It prompted even *National Review*, which usually avoid any disagreement with the *Commentary* crowd, to publish an editorial denying that Buchanan was anti-Semitic. *NR* observed that all the statements used to prove that Buchanan is anti-Semitic have been grossly decontextualized or based on Buchanan's correct observations, e.g., that John Demjanjuk was not Ivan the Terrible.

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Buchanan had *never* been a Holocaust-denier and has supported the present government of Israel as much as he was critical of the former one. But of course proving the obvious here is beside the point. Like their liberal allies, the neocons hate Buchanan, and any stick will do in going after him, particularly one associated with the unspeakable Nazis (who now live on as liberal-neocon replacement for Satan).

Yet the neocons gained nothing by their recent hysteria, except for allying themselves more closely with their true base on the Left. By now it has become impossible to find anything of importance that distinguishes the neocons from the center-Left, save for their hard line against the Middle East peace process and their occasional waffling on affirmative action. The presidential candidates they backed, Alexander and Powell, ran to the left of Dole, and the alacrity of neocon journalists in rallying to the socially liberal Powell shows how little they really think of even the few socially conservative stands that they took or pretended to take in the past.

By now even the dissembling seems to have passed. The neocons are no longer trying to hide their neoconservative identity. Jack Kemp has come out openly for minority quotas; and neocon journalists thunder against the arrogance of Southern whites who believe they have the right to fly the Confederate flag.

Bill Kristol, and presumably his office-hungry family, found no problem with Colin Powell's liberalism, but they are terrified by Buchanan's views on immigration. The ultimate meaningfulness of any neocon-liberal distinction broke through during the "Capital Gang" last week when Bob Novak complained to Al Hunt about the lack of a conservative presidential candidate. When Hunt asked Novak whom he wanted to see run, Novak responded "Bennett or Kemp." Hunt smiled benignly at Novak in a way that told it all. Novak's "conservative" Republicans were precisely those candidates whom Hunt the liberal found most acceptable.

The Cuban Fifth-Column

by Greg Pavlik

United States foreign policy is in a rut. Despite constant media aggravation from our neoconservative imperialists, the public wants nothing to do with foreign entanglements. Americans reacted to the downing of two Cessna airplanes of the Cuban exile group "Brothers to the Rescue" with a yawn...as well they should have. The interesting thing about the Cuban incident is that it appeared at first as if the Clinton administration might respond rationally, and either downplay the incident or ignore it altogether. That would have been the appropriate reaction: after all, it was really none of our business. Worse still, evidence quickly accumulated to suggest that the Cuban government was intentionally provoked by Brothers to the Rescue in order to aggravate hostilities between the Cuban and American governments. Cuba had repeatedly warned both the exile group and the American government that the fly-over pamphleteering of Brothers to the Rescue would not be tolerated.

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Besides, what do you imagine would be the end result if Castro, after inveighing for years against the U.S., allowed Cuban "civilians" to fly into U.S. air space and drop pamphlets calling on the people to rise up and install a government friendly to Cuba. After the Cuban pilots disregarded warnings from air traffic control to leave U.S. air space, how many seconds would it take before they were blown out of the sky? The question is ridiculous only because everyone knows that the planes would have been shot down long before a single pamphlet had been dropped. The planes could have been flying bombs, after all.

This is a rather obvious point, and after the shooting things looked as if they might be swept under the rug. Two days later, Clinton was still debating whether the United States should respond at all. Then came the Cuban exile community, beating the drums for the punishment of the Cuban government. The Clinton administration caved in shortly thereafter and decided to push for broadened sanctions against Cuba. The reason? The heavy Cuban influence in the electorally-crucial state of Florida—where Clinton had lost narrowly in 1992.

Clinton was promptly out-pandered by Clinton's likely Republican challenger Bob Dole, who lamented that it's "a shame that President Clinton's weak actions today did not match his tough rhetoric." Of course, draconian attempts to punish Castro typically mean starving the Cuban people into submission, an immoral policy that's yet to demonstrate its efficacy after 40 years of effort.

Meanwhile, the head of the Cuban Parliament, Ricardo Alarcon, pointed out that the Clinton admin-

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istration was "acting out of cheap political motives aimed at assuring the President's re-election." A Cuban intelligence official even hinted that members of Brothers to the Rescue might be employed by the CIA and that the U.S. government was less than innocent in the whole affair. An unidentified "senior intelligence official" in the U.S. denied that any members of the group were on the CIA payroll, an equivocal response.

Why would the Cuban government make such an "outrageous" charge against the U.S. government? Besides a trade embargo designed to punish average Cubans, it's common knowledge that since Castro's rise to power, the U.S.—principally through the CIA—has done everything it can to overthrow the Cuban government, including repeated attempts with the Mafia to assassinate Fidel.

William Blum, in his book *The CIA: A Hidden History*, provides a long list of U.S.-sponsored sabotage against the Cuban economy. There was even germ warfare, including the release of a virus that causes African swine fever, resulting in the death of 500,000 hogs and the possible infection of Cuban turkeys with the virus that produces the fatal Newcastle disease.

Cuban food-product exports were fouled, and industrial sabotage was rampant. Brothers to the Rescue, in fact, was founded by Jose Basulto, whom the *New York Times* reports was trained by the CIA for the Bay of Pigs invasion. In 1962—the year following the Bay of Pigs—Basulto is known to have fired a cannon from a boat into a hotel in Havana. Now he invokes the legacy of two figures in the democratic socialist canon of saints, Ghandi and Martin Luther King, in a campaign he describes as a form of "civil disobedience." The *Times* reports that "by provoking Saturday's attack by Cuba, the group has single-handedly forced a hardening of American policy."

Press accounts largely gloss over the fact that exile groups have been engaged in what otherwise would be called terrorist actions launched from U.S. soil since (at least) 1959. The *Times* reported in a page one story on October 29 of that year that nonmilitary planes piloted by Cuban exiles had been bombing and strafing their mother country. The attackers were at times in the company of CIA personnel. The most well-known example of exile violence was the downing of a Cuban Airlines plane leaving Barbados in which 73 people died. In 1980, the Cuban exile group Omega 7 was called "the most dangerous terrorist group in America" by the FBI.

Relations between Cuba and America have been aggravated by the unrestricted immigration of Cubans to the U.S. In fact, the Cuban community epitomizes the immigration crisis in America rather starkly. The combination of lax immigration and naturalization laws has resulted in the emergence of what might as well be called faux citizenship. A healthy portion of the Cuban-American community has one concern: Cuba and Cubans. Inevitably that translates into the narrow pursuit of ethnic interests through political means.

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It wasn't always that way. The Miami area has historically served as haven for Cuban refugees fleeing the coups that have plagued the island since it gained its independence following the Spanish-American war in 1898. The mass immigration of Cubans to the Miami area was generally followed by mass emigration, as exile Cubans returned to their country of origin after another round of political chaos on the island. Cuban immigration has comparatively little influence on national politics—primarily because the open door was a revolving one.

As Derrick Anderson and Jared Taylor made clear in a report on the consequences of immigration in the Miami area in the May 1994 *American Renaissance*, this all changed in the wake of the Castro revolution. By 1973, well over a half-million Cubans had swarmed into South Florida. As Anderson and Taylor note, they "quickly established a distinct community" based on a common nationality and hardened by their hatred of the Castro regime. Anderson and Taylor mark the breaking point in relations between Cuban immigrants and native Americans at around the time of the Mariel boatlift during 1980.

At this time, white Americans had about had it, and reacted by passing English-only language regulations for Dade County, which was a direct (albeit weak) attempt to preserve Miami for the Western world. The result: "Cubans resolved to remake the city even more explicitly in their own image. They began to promote Hispanic causes not just in Cuba but in America as well. They became U.S. citizens and ran for office. Thousands who had never bothered with naturalization mouthed the words of the oath of citizenship...."

While many Floridians may have been unhappy with the changes being wrought in their state, they had little say in the matter. Ultimately, the Cuban migration was a product of the central state. "Cubans fleeing from communism made first-rate cold war propaganda, and the federal government flouted the wishes of whites by welcoming the

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Cubans as refugees. It was Mr. Castro who finally stopped the 'freedom flights' in 1973, but Miami's transformation was well under way. The first wave of Cubans came to plot counter-revolution in the hope of going back home; later waves expected to stay."

The result was a predicable one. U.S. commitments to Cold War lunacies overshadowed all other considerations. The interests of the citizenry was subordinated to the interests of the Security State. Almost universally, empire has the tendency to promote immigration, multiracism, and multiculturalism. This was highlighted spectacularly in the history of Rome. The ethnic transformation of the Republic coincided with its demise and the rise of the Empire. And in fact the United States adopted an explicit domestic policy during the Cold War promoting egalitarianism and multiculturalism.

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This point was made most emphatically by Secretary of State Dean Rusk who argued that "The biggest single burden we carry on our backs in our foreign relations in the 1960s is the problem of racial discrimination." Rusk specifically argued that the United States needed to abandon discriminatory immigration policies in order to broaden the appeal of U.S. hegemony during the Cold War among the non-white populations of the Third World.

The crippling effect on U.S. foreign policy brought about by the pressures of our faux citizens in Little Havana is a microcosm of the crisis the country faces as a result of the ethnic changes it continues to undergo. State-sponsored multiethnicity and forced integration has always gone hand in hand with the expansion of government coercion, whether in foreign or domestic policy. A polyglot citizenry places all kinds of demands on the central state. It creates free-riding special interests magnified by the force of ethnocentrism—a public-choice nightmare.

The federal government's covert war against Cuba and its policy of unrestricted immigration and easy naturalization are relics of the Cold War. The real question brought on by recent events is not how to deal with the tired figurehead of a crumbling regime in the Caribbean; the real question is how to return to a policy of neutrality and peace. That won't be possible if we allow a Cuban fifth-column to dictate our role in world affairs. ■

Classic Rothbard

America's Most Persecuted Minority

by Murray N. Rothbard

Quick: which is America's Most Persecuted Minority? No, you're wrong.

Consider this: Which group has been increasingly illegalized, shamed, and denigrated first by the Establishment, and then, following its lead, by society at large? Which group, far from coming *out* of the "closet," has been literally forced back *into* the closet after centuries of walking proudly in the public square? And which group has tragically internalized the value-system of its oppressors, so that they are deeply ashamed and guilty about practicing their rites and customs? Which group is so brow-beaten that it never thinks of defending itself, any attempt at which is publicly condemned and ridiculed? Which group is considered such sinners that the use of doctored statistics against them is considered legitimate means in a worthy cause?

I refer, of course, to that once proud race, tobacco-smokers, a group once revered and envied, but now there are none so poor as to do them reverence.

So low has this group sunk in the public esteem that, in rushing to their defense, I am obliged to point out that I myself am not and never have been a smoker. Can you imagine having to put in such a disclaimer against special pleading in behalf of the rights of blacks or Jews?

The crusade against smoking is only the currently most virulent example of one of the most malignant forces in American life: neo-Puritanism. Puritanism was famously defined by H.L. Mencken as "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy."

The major problem with the Puritans is not so much that they were a dour lot, but that they were believers in the dangerous heresy of "post-millennialism," that is, that it is man's responsibility to establish a thousand-year (give or take a few centuries) Kingdom of God on Earth as a precondition of the Second Advent of Jesus Christ.

Since the Kingdom is by definition a perfect society free of sin, this means that it is the theological duty of believers to establish a sin-free society. But establishing a sin-free society, of course, means taking stern measures to get rid of sinners, which is where the rub comes in.

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Now I recognize that in being obliged to depict the crusaders as neo-Puritans, I am not doing justice to the original Puritans. The original 17th century New England Puritans were not so much crusaders as people who wanted to establish their own sin-free Kingdom in their own new settlements, their own "city on a hill."

The original Puritans, too, were Calvinists, who believed in Christianity and a Christian commonwealth as a strict code of Biblical and God-determined law. But over the years, the original Puritanism was replaced, especially by a wave of pietist revivalism in the late 1820s, by a far more crusading and hence menacing version of Protestant Christianity: what is technically known as "post-millennial evangelical pietism" (PMEP).

This PMEP took particular root among the ethno-cultural descendants of the old Puritans, people who became known as "Yankees," and who had migrated from New England to populate such areas as upstate New York, northern and eastern Ohio, northern Indiana, and northern Illinois. (No, "Yankees," as in "damn Yankees," did not mean simply "Northerners.")

This new and malignant form of neo-Puritanism, which dominated all the mainstream Protestant churches in the North for one hundred years, had the following traits: (1) Creed, or liturgy, is formalistic and unimportant. So long as you are a Protestant, it doesn't matter what church you belong to. Churches don't matter; the only thing that matters is the individual's salvation. (2) To achieve salvation, the individual must believe and must be free from sin. (3) "Sin," however, is very broadly defined as virtually any practice that is enjoyable, in particular, anything which might "cloud your mind" so that you might not achieve salvation: in particular, liquor (Demon Rum); any activity on the Sabbath except praying, reading the Bible, and going to church; and (4) the font of evil is the Roman Catholic Church, the instrument of the Antichrist in the Vatican.

Since each individual is weak and subject to temptation, his salvation must be aided by the government, whose theological duty it is to stamp out such occasions for sin as liquor, activity of any secular sort on the Sabbath, and the Catholic Church. As one historian aptly summed up the PMEP attitude toward the State: "Government is God's major instrument of salvation." After all, how are liquor or Catholics to be stamped out by persuasion alone? (5) (the crucial icing on the cake): *You* will not be saved unless you try your darndest to maximize everyone else's salvation (i.e. get the government to stamp out sin).

Armed with this five-point world-outlook, the neo-Puritan PMEP hurled himself (and *herself,* and how!) into a devilishly energetic, hopped-up, unrelenting crusade to stamp out these evils, and to set up paternalistic Big Government on the local, state, and national levels to crush sin and usher in a perfect sin-less Kingdom.

In politics, this meant a full century of crusading against liquor, and to keep the Sabbath holy. (Do you know that in libertarian, anti-neo-Puritan Jacksonian America, the Post Office used to deliver the mail on Sundays?) But since it would be clearly unconstitutional to outlaw the Catholic Church, the PMEP substitute was to try to force all children into a network of public schools, the object of which was to inculcate obedience to the State *and,* in the popular slogan of the day, to "Christianize the Catholics."

It took archetypical neo-Puritan Woodrow Wilson not only to bringProhibition to America, and thereby fulfill the PMEP's most cherished dreams, but also to take PMEP crusading on to a world scale. For after the Kingdom was established in America, the next step was to bring about a worldwide Kingdom. (The Prohibitionist crusaders, however, soon found their dreams of a liquor-free Europe dashed beyond repair.)

Smokers, rise up, be proud, throw off the guilt imposed on you by your oppressors! Stand tall, and smoke! Defend your rights!

The ethno-religious group that felt the most severe oppression from the fanatical harridans of the PMEP (for yes, the most fanatic crusaders were Yankee women, especially spinsters) were the German-American Catholics and High-Church Lutherans. Both of these groups imported into America the charming and admirable custom of going to church on Sundays with their family in their best finery, and then repairing to a

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beer garden in the afternoon, where they could drink beer and listen to their beloved oom-pah-pah bands.

You can imagine the reaction when hordes of PMEP harridans descended upon them crying "Sin! Evil! Smash!" for committing what to the Germans was harmless, but what to the PMEPs was the grave *double sin* of drinking beer, *and on Sundays*! And, furthermore, both the Catholics and the German Lutherans wanted to bring up their kids in their own parochial schools, and not in the secularist (or rather, PMEP) public school system!

The high-water mark of PMEP crusading was, of course, the outlawing of all liquor (and by constitutional amendment, no less). The result used to be common knowledge in America; absolute disaster: tyranny, corruption, black markets, and *more* alcoholism as people went underground to get more intense "fixes" such as hard liquor rather than beer before the cops could close in. And, of course, organized crime, which was almost non-existent before Prohibition. But now, only groups willing to be criminals were available to supply a much desired and demanded product.

This grim lesson used to be known to all Americans, but it has been lost in the enthusiasm for recent neo-Puritan crusades; against drugs, and now against smoking. What is little realized is that the current reason for the crusade was also present during the old PMEP war against liquor. As the decades wore on, the neo-Puritans used *both* theological and medicinal arguments; liquor will not only send you to Hell, but would also ruin your temporal body, your body-as-a-temple. Liquor would cause you to beat your wife, have more accidents, and, a little later, injure yourself and others on the road. Increasingly, over the years, the PMEPs married theology and Science in their crusade.

So what happened to the aggressively Christian features of neo-Puritanism, to the emphasis on salvation and on the Kingdom? Interestingly, over the decades, the Christian aspect gradually disappeared. After all, if *as a Christian activist*, your major focus is not creed or liturgy but using the government to shape everyone up and stamp out sin, eventually Christ fades out of the picture and government remains.

The picture of the Kingdom of God on Earth becomes secularized or atheized, and we have arrived at the grisly land of Left Puritanism, of a Left Kingdom which proposes to bring about a perfect world free of tobacco, inequality, greed, and hate-thoughts. We have arrived, in short, in the land of The Enemy.

And don't think that your liquor is safe either; neo-Prohibitionism has been long on the march, what with "sin taxes" (revealing term, isn't it?), outlawing of advertising, higher drinking ages, and the neo-Puritan harpies of MADD.

And so, smokers! Are you mice or are you men? Smokers, rise up, be proud, throw off the guilt imposed on you by your oppressors! Stand tall, and smoke! Defend your rights! ■

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